



A T H I R D
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T O T H E

Right Hon^{ble} * * * * *

My Lord,

BY this Time perhaps I have given your Lordship a fresh Instance, that all Party has in it a mixture of Evil, and that Faction is the worst of Parties; that a few Men of Genius taking hold of lucky Occasions may embarrass a Government, and by concurrence of Circumstances, a Multitude may be inflamed, and rashly engaged in applause and support of a Spirit, which in cooler Hours they would condemn: Opposition to Government is seldom displeasing to those who are governed; and if Appearances be plausible, the Arts of fomenting are not difficult, for they have been often practised, and with little Variety from the first Foundation of Government to this Day: The natural Rights of Men, their Freedom, their Equality, are Themes that affect strongly the Passions of those who are and who

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Dublin c 1755

ought to be subordinate in Society ; they forget that their native Brutal Freedom is surrendered for happier social Liberty, less extensive indeed, but restrained only for the general Good : Every Argument which exalts them to the Level of those whom Fortune or Dignity intended to place above them, is such Incense to Vanity as cannot be rejected ; and Flattery of their Passions has seldom failed of ruining their Fortunes and sinking them to a State of Misery, from which Industry had otherwise preserved them : But it is the Misfortune of our Nature to dwell more on imaginary than real Blessings, and to neglect what we have by aiming at what never can be had.

I have, my Lord, before hinted at the supposed Views of the Leaders ; perhaps it will not be unpleasing to your Lordship to know more minutely the Characters of the principal Persons opposing and oppos'd : At the Head of the Former was the ~~Chair~~ of the ~~Exchequer~~ who for twenty Years and upwards, had held the Chair, a Gentleman not without Abilities and well stor'd with Resolution ; who deriv'd more Consequence and Weight from his Family than from his Fortune : He was a Branch of a very honourable House, and more closely connected to it by Marriage with a Sister of the Lord ~~Bridgman~~, who possessed a very ample Estate here, but residing in England, his Influence devolved on his Sister's Husband, and enabled him to do much Service to the Government, which indeed he very seldom failed to do : Whatever was the Ambition of his younger Days, it was thought too weak to engage him in an opposition at this Day, had it not been buoy'd up by that of others ; so that many did not hesitate to say he was rather nominally than really the Head of a Party.

M. Boyle



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Less full of Years and more full of Hopes, was Mr. ~~Malone~~ a Gentleman of the Bar, of a rare Genius; a weighty Speaker on any Subject, and very powerful in a good Cause; connected by Marriage to a Family which had formerly held the Chair, and was still of Fortune and Weight enough to hold it again; to this he had joined himself, and finding that the Favour of the Court began to look another Way, he resolved to adhere to his Friends, and by making them of Consequence, he could not fail of being so himself. Indeed he is a Man that must be of Weight on any Side, having with wonderful Power of Argument all the Enthusiasm of Self-conviction, to carry Conviction to others: Of great Assiduity with uncommon Discernment; of a grave and pleasing Aspect, and a Nature generous and manly; in short, a Man of Talents to support a Party, and singly of Reputation almost sufficient to give Credit to it.

On the same Side was a very different Character, *John. 1. 60* of a blunt rough Nature, and unpolished Eloquence; vehement and boisterous, yet versed in Books, and with this to recommend him, that he brought to the House the Sense of a Country Gentleman, and was therefore often better heard than some wiser Men who had acquired a formal Method at the Bar, ungraceful in forensial Debate. He had been of all Sides, paid and obliged by, in and out of Favour with all, and whether he was wrong, or whether he was right, certain it is, no Man could be more heartily so: He was a Master of the Rules and Orders of the House, and the Modes of conducting Business, had a quick Pen, though not delicate, was often employed, and sometimes useful: Abuse was his great Talent, and Unsteadiness his great Failing.

Carter Hand in Hand with these went ——— a Man of close retired Disposition, and of nervous Sense, who spoke little, but in that little much; of a Mind given to Severity, and even some degree of Acrimony; sharp-sighted, and of Resolution not to be daunted; his Aspect which was cloudy, wore the appearance of Discontent and a Willingness to prey upon it: Hence it was that the gloomy and discontented flocked about him, and he knew how to amuse them.

L. Kildare Perhaps no single Circumstance was more favourable to the Opposition than that it was espoused by a young Nobleman, great in Family, in Fortune, and in Alliance; of an Age which courts the Breeze of Popularity, and that plain unstudied Frankness which in such Times, seldom fails to attain it; and of that tenacious Nature, which does not readily let go Applause when it is deemed the Purchase of Merit and a Patriot Mind.

Such, my Lord, were the Leaders, I mean the most conspicuous in the Opposition, aided by many from Affinity, and by many from Friendship: Nor were there wanting in the Party moderate Men, who from no View, but to serve their Country, differ'd from those about the Court, and strenuously opposed what appeared to them disadvantageous to the Kingdom; but they opposed like Men who knew they might Err, and whether they succeeded or failed, they retained no Animosity towards those who had dissented from them: Whatever private Ambition had mixed itself among them; all its Measures were directed against the growing Power of the ~~B. Family~~ Family; therefore every Man howsoever connected with this Family, became the Object of Suspicion and Dislike: Among the first of these was ~~the P. Family~~ a Gentleman, who by the Friendship of the ~~D. Family~~ Family had risen to the highest

highest Dignity of the Church, and in so short Time, that his Honours seemed to grow faster than his Years: In his Progress to the See of *Armagh* he had much Good said of him; for he was in his Nature courteous and affable, of that milkiness of Disposition that it was a Pain to him to send away any Man unhappy: His Revenue was large, but not larger than his Expence, which never went abroad for any Produce of Art or Manufacture that could be supplied by the Kingdom: He was liberal in his Charities, almost to Excess; to his Tenants the kindest Landlord; and if he was fond of Power, it is not to be wondered at, for the Court was as fond of giving it to him. But it was enough to cloud all his good Qualities that he was connected by Friendship to the Family of *P—b—y*; *Hinc illa Iræ!* Hence all that Scandal, *Person by* those Flood-gates of Abuse that were opened against him, and those cruel Rumours propagated by Men whose Maxim it is, *quo quid crudelius fictum, facilius creditur.*

It is almost incredible that so many Papers and Pamphlets could be stuffed with Abuse of a Man, merely because he was a Bishop, a Friend to those who had befriended him, and for a Time one of the Lords Regent: His Behaviour in the Government had been blameless as any other Man's; for what he had done or attempted more than what was done every Year before he was in that public Office, I could never hear: He was a Friend to the Family opposed, and that was sufficient Crime. I have often sat down to think calmly, what could be dreaded from Mr. *P—b—y* in the Chair more than from ———, but I cannot discover it; the former has a native Interest great as the latter; is in private Life as amiable, and as eminent for Genius: It is said, he has *English* Connections; but he has stronger Connections here; and what

what Man ever sacrificed both Interest and Connections to Connections only: His whole Family will have much Property here, and where can Power be lodged more securely than in the Hands of Natives who are most naturally and necessarily interested in the Well-being of the Nation. I am not speaking from my private Wishes, but from Reason; I wish the Peace of the Kingdom more than the Power of any Man, and I am sorry it is disturbed merely because his Majesty chuses a Change of Officers, especially when some who complain of the Change have amassed very ample Fortunes in their Offices. Why should the Emoluments of the Crown be settled for Life on any one Man, or Set of Men? As if his Majesty had none other Subjects deserving his Favour. Men may rail, and affect to reason too, but in Governments like ours there is no measure more destructive than to continue Men long in Office: In free Countries it is or should be a first Principle to have Rotation: In Republics it is the *sine qua non*, and the Reason is obvious, as more can partake of the Honours and Emoluments of Government, more will be ambitious to deserve them: When they are long confined to a few, the Spirit of Emulation decays, and the few in possession begin to think that a Property which is in Fact a Bounty, and every Attempt to dispossess them an Injury to be repelled.

But to avoid farther Digression, I will return to the Characters of the Gentlemen about the Court: In the Lower House was the K—g's Solicitor, an easy fluent Speaker, of a Nature so much to be loved that it was hardly possible he could have an Enemy; and indeed in such a Situation no Man had fewer; for he conducted himself so prudently, and by a native flowing good Humour to all, so tempered the Violence of many, that never Man seemed

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seemed better rigged for sailing in such boisterous Seas: His great Expence, which was only bounded by his Income, was recommended by his Courtesy and Politeness; he had Virtues to acquire Friends, and Gentleness of Manners to retain them. With him stood a young Gentleman of the Bar, of Fame in his Profession, and deservedly, of unwearied Application to Business, and a Temper not easily discouraged or abashed; eager in the Pursuit of Honours and Employments, but of such inviolated Friendship, as not only to refuse a profitable Employment because it was to be taken from his Friend who acted in the Opposition, but even to exert all his Power that it should be continued to that Friend: That he succeeded is a Pleasure to him now, and will for ever redound to his Fame.

With these were connected many others deserving an accurate Description; many neither Pensioners nor Placemen, who neither enjoyed nor hoped for aught from the Crown, nor any Honour but that of acting agreeably to the Persuasion of Reason: Certainly there were Men on both Sides who could not be suspected of Bias from Passion or Interest; and among these no Rancour, no Animosity had blended: That there were others of sharper Humours, of tumultuous Minds, who grew uneasy at the Prospect of a Calm, and like that *St. John* mentioned by Lord *Clarendon*, hoped to see Things worse before they were better; as if Confusion was to be wished, because sometimes good Order has arisen from it; not recollecting, that as often it hath been followed by the Order of a wicked Tyranny: That there were such cannot be denied; I hope they are few, and you will join me in wishing they may be fewer. At some future Day, my Lord, I hope to lay before you all these Matters more fully;

fully ; I have now given Hints only, yet such as, I am perswaded, are ungrateful to many ; for Truth is oft ungrateful. Inclosed for your Lordship is a Letter to the Lord *Chesterfield*, which will convince you more than all I have said, of the Rancour of Party ; and which has answered a former Letter to your Lordship in such a Manner, that a Reply to it would be an Insult to your Understanding ; for after many Pages of idle but virulent Criticism, it mentions only one Misrepresentation, and one which I frankly, publicly confessed, and accounted for : He who has so laboured to censure that Letter, would not, I think, let the second go unnoticed ; but to his own Conscience I leave every Man, and conclude with this Assurance, That such Understanding as God hath blessed me with shall be employed in giving a faithful Narrative of all that may serve or entertain you. I am, my Lord,



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